THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

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VICTORY; SHORT PAY; UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT'S UNEMPLOYMENT SCHEME. WE CONDEMN IT.

On Sunday, November 10th, in view of the expected Armistice to be announced next day, the Press Bureau issued a statement of the Government's policy regarding employment which is expected to follow the War. Here are the main provisions :—

1. No immediate general discharge of munition workers.

2. Overtime and piece work to be abolished, time work substituted.

Will the War bonuses also cease? Even if they continue the workers will be hard put to it to make ends meet at present prices? But there is more to follow.

REDUCTION OF HOURS AND REDUCTION OF PAY.

3. Hours of work to be reduced. (The reduction of hours till all workers are absorbed into industry is the sane and proper way to deal with unemployment, but to reduce pay at the same time is to plunge the workers into misery and distress.)

4. To palliate this misfortune the following provision is put forward :—

If in any case the earnings of the workpeople for the full weekly number of hours on the short time system fall below the following amounts: For men of 18 years and over, 30*s.* per week; boys under 18 years, 15*s.*; women of 18 years and over, 25*s.*; girls under 18 years, 12*s.* 6*d.*, their earnings will be made up to these sums by the employer, who will be reimbursed by the State. Where time is lost, the amounts payable will be sums proportionate to the number of hours actually worked.

What scandalous pittances, with the cost of living at war-time height! Thirty shillings a week for a man with a wife and family to maintain! Here is your victory, "boys of the bulldog breed"! "Lions," a man ecstatically called two of the soldiers as he saw them a tea-shop in the Strand on Monday, just after the news of the Armistice came through. Women, perhaps widows with dependent children, or wives supporting discharged husbands, broken men who got no pension, can only claim to have their wages made up to 25*s.*—the principle of equal pay for equal work is seldom observed by Government Departments.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

5. But reduced hours and reduced pay are not expected to prevent unemployment; there is no promise, no hope of that, it seems, under Government plans. Says the Press Bureau: "The adoption of half-time may cause unavoidable discharges," therefore what is called an "unemployment donation" is to be provided and to remain in force for six months from a date shortly to be announced by the Government. This "donation," which is to take the form of a weekly unemployment benefit, is to exist for six months; no unemployed person may draw it for more than thirteen weeks—after that he or she must do without! And the benefit can only be drawn in cases where "unemployment cannot be avoided"—a thing which the unemployed may find difficult to prove to the satisfaction of some of the close-fisted people who may administer the scheme!

And what is this "donation" to amount to?

For unemployed men over 18 years 24*s.* a week!

For unemployed women over 18 years 20*s.* a week.

For the first dependent child under 15 years of age 6*s.* a week and 3*s.* for each additional dependent child under that age.

Miserable doles truly!

Unemployed boys between 15 and 18 are to get 12*s.* a week, girls of the same age 10*s.* Why this inequality?

This non-contributory scheme is to remain in force "pending the introduction of a general contributory scheme"; or, shall we say, pending the Revolution?

These mean proposals must be rejected. The Russian Soviets, with a much greater unemployment problem to face, provide unemployment benefit at the rates now paid in the industry in which the unemployed workers were hitherto engaged. Those standard rates are much higher than the rates paid to the workers of this country, for in Russia there is a standard wage for all, varying from 500 to 700 roubles a month. The workers of this country must demand equally good conditions. When the workers control the industries all will draw equal benefits from the industry and all capable of working will be absorbed into industry—thus the labour of all will be lightened.

WE DEMAND THE REPEAL OF THE D.O.R.A. AND THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND C.O.s.

CANDIDATES AND D.O.R.A.

In last week's *Herald* sixteen Labour candidates for Parliament announced their intention to disregard the Defence of the Realm Act during the election campaign. The question of Parliamentary candidates and D.O.R.A. was raised by Mr. King at question time. Sir George Cave replied that he was not at present aware of any modification in the Defence of the Realm Regulations which a General Election is likely to make desirable. He added that leaflets issued by members of Parliament are already exempt from the operations of regulation 27 c, and there is no desire to limit free speech.

This reply, though rather vague in its reference to free speech (Sir George Cave's statement is not one on which a Bolshevik candidate could feel his or her liberty of speech to be absolutely secure), may be satisfactory enough for Parliamentary candidates; but the people are not all Parliamentary candidates all the time. Therefore the D.O.R.A. must end and end entirely. It was established as a War Act of Parliament; it was one of the War Acts—from our standpoint. There is absolutely no excuse for retaining it now that the War is over. We, therefore, call upon the sixteen Parliamentary candidates to join us in demanding the complete and immediate repeal of the Defence of the Realm Act.

SHOWING THIS WEEK.

Let us take a look at the screen in the great Picture Palace, this week featuring the world.

One picture is fading away and, as it fades, another picture is growing clearer behind it. Before the old picture, which is War, came on the screen, the nations of the world were merging a little. The outlines of their nationalism were getting a little dim. When War took the stage, as if at a sudden bugle call, the nations sprang to attention, drew back behind their borders, and the map of the world stood out clear—the nations brightly coloured with clean hard outlines. Now this War picture, as we watch, is dying away and a new one is showing through. At first it is a blur, and then the lines of the new picture grow stronger and cut across the old ones and for a moment they are both there. As the War map fades, the borders of Nationalism disappear.

Is this picture, which is growing so steadily on the screen, the victorious Allies' new map of the world? It seems not, for the borders of the victorious Allies are as carelessly cut across as those of the vanquished. We, who are used to nations, kingdoms, empires, begin to feel confused.

It is a new kind of division getting so quickly plainer, and now we can see better what it is, as the war picture almost fades away.

It is the division all over the world between Revolution and Reaction.

And many of the people in the world are sitting with their backs to the screen.

Listen. Through the noise of the Peace bells you can hear, coming from every corner of the world, another sound. The sound of an Army with banners. And all the banners are red.

ETHEL GORE BROWNE.

LABOUR AND THE COALITION.

Mr. G. N. Barnes, "Labour" member of the War Cabinet, according to *The Times* has frankly told a press representative that if elected at the General Election he will not be able to claim that he is a Labour representative. "For my own part," he said, "I am free of the Labour Party and my union is not supporting me." He intimated that the question as to whether he is to be a Cabinet Minister after the War if the Prime Minister so decides. Does that mean that he will enter a Lloyd George Cabinet if Lloyd George asks him; or will he serve under *any* Prime Minister? He again declared :—

"My case is that the war overshadows everything else....I was put into the Government to help win the war until peace is signed and I am going to stick to my mandate."

It appears that he is determined to stay in the Cabinet, even though the party that put him in and gave him his mandate, says that he is to come out. But he means to go further still; he means to work with a capitalist Government if invited to do so after the War, which he says, "overshadows everything," is over. He says that if Labour comes out of the Cabinet Labour will be "deprived of practical participation in the solution of peace problems" and will "become again the mere acrid voice of windy denunciation."

Before Mr. Barnes got into Parliament he advocated political independence for Labour. He was a member of the I.L.P. and used to refer to Keir Hardie, that apostle of independent working-class action in politics, as "our honoured chief."

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

RUSSIA GIVES THE LAND TO THE PEOPLE.

THE SOVIETS GOVERNMENT'S DECREE ON THE LAND

The Congress of Soviets of Workmen and Soldiers Delegates (passed at the meeting of October 25th 1917 at 2 A.M., the following Decree on the land):—

1. All private ownership of land is abolished immediately without indemnity.

2. All landowners' estates likewise all the lands of the Crown, monasteries, church land is. with all their live stock and inventory property, homestead constructions and all appurtenances pass over into the disposition of the Volost land-committees and district Soviets of Peasants' delegates until the Constituent Assembly meets.

3. Any damage whatever done to the confiscated property belonging henceforth to the whole people, is regarded as a grievous crime punishable by the revolutionary Court of Justice. The district Soviet of Peasants' delegates shall take all necessary measures for the observance of the strictest order during the confiscation of the landowners' estates to determine the dimension of the plots of land and to decide which of them are subject to confiscation, for the drawing up of an inventory of the whole confiscated property, and for the strictest revolutionary guard of all farming property, of the land with all the construction, implements, cattle, supplies of products &c., passing over to the people.

4. For guidance during the realisation of the great land reforms, with their final solution by the Constituent Assembly shall be used the following peasants' nakoz (instruction) drawn up on the basis of 242 local peasant nakozes by the editor's office of the "Investia of All-Russia Soviet of Peasants' Delegates" and published in No. 88 of the said *Izvestia* (Petrograd No. 88 August 19th 1917).

RE THE LAND.

The question *re* the land may be decided only by the General Constituent Assembly. Meanwhile equitable solution of the Land question the following must be adopted:—

1. The right of private ownership of the land is abolished for ever: the land cannot be sold, nor leased nor mortgaged, nor alienated in any other way. All the lands of the State, the Crown, the Cabinet, the monasteries churches, possession lands, entailed estates, private lands, public and peasant lands, &c., shall be alienated without any indemnity; they shall become the property of the people and the usufructory property of all those who cultivate them.

For those who may suffer from this socialisation of property the right is recognised to receive public assistance only during the time necessary for them to adapt themselves to the new conditions of existence.

2. All the underground wealth: the ore, naphtha, coal, salt, &c., and also the forests and waters, having a general importance, shall pass over to the exclusive use of the State. All the minor rivers, lakes, forests, &c., shall be the usufruct of the communities, provided they be under the management of the local organisation of self-government.

3. The most highlv cultivated plots of land: gardens, plantations, nursery gardens, seed-plots, green houses, &c., shall not be divided, but they shall be transformed into model farms and handed over as the exclusive usufruct of the State or communities, in proportion to their dimensions or importance. Homestead lands, town and county lands, with private gardens and kitchen gardens remain as usufructs of their present owners: the extent of such lands and the rates or taxes to be paid for their use shall be established by law.

4. Studs, governmental and private cattle-breeding enterprises, &c., shall become the property of the people, and pass over, either for the exclusive use of the State or a community, according to their dimensions and importance. All questions of redeeming same shall be submitted to the examination of the Constituent Assembly.

5. All the agricultural inventoried property of the confiscated lands, the live and dead stock, pass over to the exclusive use of the State or a community depending on their dimensions and local importance, without any indemnity.

The confiscation of property shall not concern peasants who have small amount of land.

NO HIRED LABOUR ALLOWED.

6. The right to use the land shall belong to all citizens (without distinction of sex) of the Russian State, who wish to work the land themselves with the help of their families, or in partnership, only for so long as they are capable of working it themselves. No hired labour is allowed.

In the event of the temporary incapacity of a member of a County Community, such incapacity not lasting more than 2 years, during the course of two years, the community shall be bound to render him assistance by cultivating his land. Agriculturists who in consequence of old age or sickness have lost the capacity to cultivate their land shall lose the right to use it, and they shall receive instead a pension from the State.

7. The use of the land shall be distributive, *i.e.*, the land shall be distributed amongst the labourers, according to local conditions. The way in which the land is to be used may be freely selected: as homesteads or farm, or by communities or associations, as it will be decided in the separate villages and settlements.

8. All the land, upon its alienation, is entered in the general popular land fund. The local and central self-governing organisations, from the democratically organised villages and town communities to the central province institutions, shall see to the distribution of the land amongst the persons desirous of working it.

The land fund is subject to periodical redistributions according on the increase of the population and the development of its productivity and cultivation.

Through all changes of the uses of the allotments the original kernel of the allotment must remain intact.

The land of any member leaving the community returns to the land fund and the preferential right to receive the allotments of the retiring members belongs to their nearest relations or the persons indicated by them.

The value of manuring and improvements invested on the lands in so far as the same have not been used up when the allotment will be returned to the land fund, must be reimbursed.

If in some places the land fund should prove to be insufficient for the needs of the local population, the surplus of the population must emigrate.

The organisation of emigration, also the costs thereof and that of providing the emigrants with the necessary stock must be borne by the State.

The emigration is carried out in the following order: first the peasants without land who express the wish to emigrate, then the depraved members of the community, deserters, &c., and lastly, by drawing lots in agreement.

All that is contained in this Nokoz, being the expression of the will of the greatest majority of conscious peasants of the whole of Russia, is declared to be a temporary law, which, till the Constituent Assembly, is to be put into execution as far as possible immediately, and in some parts of it gradually as may be determined by the district Soviets of peasant delegates.

The land of peasants and Cossacks serving in the ranks shall not be confiscated.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries, VLADIMIR OULIANOFF (LENIN).

October 26th, 1917.

HOUSES FOR THE HOMELESS.

THE HOUSING LAW OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

An instruction confirmed by the Inter-departmental and Advisory Committee concerning the practical application of the decree for installing working class families in vacant flats. Reprinted from *Isvestia*, March 9th, 1918.

1. Each adult resident in a flat is entitled to one room only. Two children under 10 years of age are equal to one adult. In the case of unequal numbers of children of that age one child is equal to one adult.

2. If the number of adults in the flat is not less than 6, they are entitled to one common dining room in addition to the regulation number of rooms.

3. The following premises are *not subject* to the application of the above mentioned decree:—

(*a*) Public kitchens, servants' rooms adjacent to the kitchens; premises used for trade; professional premises requiring reception and work rooms; premises occupied by social organisations and establishments of common utility, such as hospitals, dispensaries, educational establishments, libraries and newspaper offices.

(Points of dispute as to the character of the premises are settled by a special commission, consisting of members of the Soviets.)

(*b*) Proprietors of hotels and furnished apartments must notify the District Soviet of any vacant rooms in their establishments, 5 per cent of the full number of rooms are subject to the application of the above decrees. After the surrender of the fixed percentage of rooms, the proprietors of the above mentioned premises are relieved of the necessity of notifying the District Soviet of fresh vacancies.

(*c*) i. Landlords and house committees must immediately notify the number of vacant flats in a building. Not more than 5 per cent of the flats in a building are subject to the application of above decree. After the surrender of the fixed percentage of flats no more whole flats may be occupied in that building. The Soviets have no right to give notice to quit to occupiers of flats in order to install others. They can only place occupants in flats which are voluntarily vacated by the previous occupiers.

(*c*) ii. The occupier of a flat who sub-lets rooms must, through the House Committee, immediately notify every vacancy to the Soviet. In the event of the room remaining unoccupied for a month, it may be claimed by the Soviet.

(In the event of the occupiers' temporary absence for a period not exceeding 3 months, the flat or room occupied by him or his family remains in his occupation if he continues to pay rent, which must be proved by presentation of receipts. In exceptional cases the period of 3 months may be extended by consent of the commission. See note to par. 3.)

(*d*) The House Committees are obliged to notify the District Soviet within a week of all flats and rooms which have become vacant since the publication of this instruction. They are, likewise, obliged to notify all dwelling places as they become vacant.

(Proprietors of houses come within the same category as occupiers.)

4. Proprietors of houses, occupiers of flats and house committees, failing to comply with Article 3 are arraigned before the People's Tribunal, which apportions the punishment in conformity with the circumstances of the affair, as indicated in paragraph 4 of the decree.

5. If the people who are being installed lack such necessary furniture as a bedstead, table and chairs, the occupier of the flat must supply the room with such furniture of which a list must be compiled.

(*a*) Previous to installation the house committee ascertains the quantity of movable property possessed by the person or family to be installed and compiles a list.

(*b*) The list is compiled in the presence of one member of the family to be installed, one of the family of the occupier and one of the house committee. The list is deposited with the District Soviet and copies of it are given to the house committee, the newly installed family and the occupier of the flats.

The installed family is responsible to the People's Tribunal for any damage or loss to furniture and other necessaries indicated on the list. This property cannot be removed or transferred without the decision of the District Soviet.

6. The full rent of the flat is paid by the occupier of the flat. Those occupiers of flats who earn their living and are not well off, in case of installation, are exempt from rent for that part of the dwelling requisitioned for installation.

(*a*) In the event of the occupier of the premises vacating the flat, the installed family remains, retaining in the rooms occupied by it the furniture, &c., allotted to it at the time of installation, and not paying to a rent for the flat to anyone, the landlord being obliged to provide for the installed family all the comforts enjoyed by the occupier of the flat: the portion of the flat which has become vacant may, in case of necessity, be used for the installation of other families, in accordance with the decree.

(*b*) The installed families of workers share on terms of equality with the occupier of the flat the use of kitchen, bathroom, cellars, sheds, &c. In the event of the occupier of the flat being short of wood, the installed family must provide the wood for heating the bathroom. Disputes are settled by the house committee. Heating and lighting is provided free of charge by the occupier of the flat to the families of unemployed during the period of actual unemployment, and to families of Red Guards who have been either killed or incapacitated for work, the facts being ascertained by the committee.

Continued on page 1124.

CAPTITALISM AND THE COUNTER REVOLUTION.

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

III.

In concluding my last article I argued that our task as Socialists was not to endeavour to end the War, but to prepare for Revolution. Now, as the Revolution will not come as the result of our agitation, or even of our organisation, but because of certain circumstances that make it impossible for the present political and economic system to satisfy the requirements of society, it is of the utmost importance that we should thoroughly understand the conditions within our own country. If the conditions are ripe for revolution, then they will very soon precipitate matters, however much the executive and sub-committees of the propertied classes may endeavour to postpone the historic necessity. If they are not ripe; then we may as well dispose ourselves to study still more carefully the laws that govern their maturity, and the correct methods of gathering in the crop when it actually comes to fruition. It will be more tedious than to amuse ourselves with projects of action; but it will be incalculably more profitable. Whatever may be the prospects of Revolution, the anticipation of which is as pleasant to us as it is detestable to our opponents, we can only estimate these by examining into the political and economic development of Britain and those other countries with which its fortunes are intimately connected.

It is wearisome in the extreme to hear people for ever lamenting the dull, unresponsive character of the British working class; and it must be appalling to have such people's hopeless outlook upon the future, whether ultimate or immediate. At meetings up and down the country the enthusiast who denounces the strikes for their sordid purpose and for the petty nature of the grievances that provoke them, is a phenomenon productive of violent aggravation of this writer's human instincts. Sometimes, when an idealist, whose fervour for pacifism has been vastly stimulated by the operation of the Military Service Acts, feels called upon to testify to the selfishness of the craftsman stimulated to strike by reason of dilution, a Quaker upbringing does not prevent me seeing, it not red, at any rate pink.

The Socialist movement in this country would not suffer by being very frank with itself about its paternity. It is not the result of a great idealist "urge," to use an Americanism. It has been the product of material development and very closely parallels in its growth the movement in the United States. Of course, these similarities cannot be pressed too far, because of the differences in political and economic evolution across the ocean; but they are near enough to be instructive.

This country has the good, or ill, fortune to have been the classic land of Capitalism, the home of the classic form of Capitalism. Here industrial and commercial development took place, on a great scale, at an earlier time than elsewhere, because of our insular immunity from the ravages and unsettlement of war, as well as from our geographical position. There sprung up a very considerable middle class, small masters—according to present standards—shopkeepers, merchants. Britain became preeminently the land of commodity production, of competitive manufacture and trading. Landed conditions rooted in feudalism promoted this, and the small proprietor, like the would-be gentleman he was, went into the respectable business of trade, *i.e.*, handling the products of someone else's toil.

The political settlement of the "Glorious Revolution" of 1689 was followed by a gigantic appropriation of common lands and the persistent encouragement by the State of capitalist agriculture. This caused the yeoman to turn to trade and manufacture and the cottar and small cultivator to flock to industry as a "free" worker. But these "free" workers, as well as those whose labour they diluted, acquired, or retained, a certain craftsmanship, whilst the machinery and requisites of their toil called into being new trades and fresh aptitudes. These industrial workers were in fairly close relations of intercourse with their employers and were deeply touched with Methodism and Baptism in England and Wales. They became of the same mind as their employers, individualistic and always striving to elevate themselves to a higher class. The craftsman and the working tradesman of classic capitalist production belonged spiritually to the middle-class. Very slowly and tentatively did they, or their employers, realise the trend that events were taking.

The enormous expansion of British commerce after 1848, into the causes of which we cannot here enter, absorbed not only the displaced hand-workers into industry at home or sent them forth as colonists, but brought plenty of work and good wages to the tens of thousands of Irish who were drawn to this country in the first half of the nineteenth century. This, and Free Trade in corn, shattered Chartism—the political expression of the chagrin of the displaced and diluted textile handworkers. In its place arose trades unionism of the quiet, sluggish type, born, not of the English temperament, but of contemporary prosperity and the mitigation of the class struggle.

British industrialism was maturing, German industrialism was being born, and with it German Socialism was enjoying a vigorous and stormy youth. The cause of this was the discontent of the German craftsmen and peasant occupiers with the loss of independence which absorption in factory work entailed. They were too late to share the industrial strivings of their British comrades, who had passed on to the quietude that afterwards overcame the German workers and made them respectable and decent fellows, according to capitalist ideas. Hence, the British and the German workers failed to understand each other.

When German capitalism got into its stride and American capitalism began to show the mettle of its pasture, British industry experienced the humiliating fact of competition. Britain, the workshop of the world, discovered that others had dared to challenge her long-continued monopoly. The "eighties" were sad years of bad times, the modification of private enterprise, and keen foreign competition. Numbers of workers and middle-class men and women became aware of a change in the political and economic status and attitude of sections of the capitalist class. Some deserted Liberalism for Liberal Unionism. Others went over from Radicalism to political Socialism. They became either Fabians or S.D.F'ers. At the same time in America, the robbery of the public domain by the big land thieves caused the middle-class to listen eagerly to Henry George, whose gospel received a welcome from the Radicals of this country, deserted by their leaders, who had now become not only big capitalists but landowners.

This was the first flowering of Socialism in Britain. Then the capitalist class called to their service their executive committee, and with Chamberlain, Rhodes, and Milner, set out to extend and improve the imperial market for home products. By naval programmes and other means, they helped the newly developing associations and syndicates to regain lost ground and to expand. After two minor defeats, more apparent than real, the "trust" magnates of America got thoroughly ensconced in the saddle, and set about to organise the small men off the United States.

From 1903 to 1909, Socialism had another vigorous period of growth in Britain and the United States. The same conditions of industrial concentration, the same tendency to imperialism, drove the lower middle class and sections of the working class to the Socialist ranks. Then, from 1910 to the outbreak of war, Lloyd George, and the far more useful, because more cultured and apparently more disinterested, Woodrow Wilson, delayed and divided—as they were put up to do—the Socialist forces.

When the War came, the Radical middle class looked sorrowfully after their leaders and, with halting steps, came to Socialism *via* the U.D.C. and the I.L.P. In America similar developments have had similar consequences. But, in both countries, the mass of the workers has remained content with its national leaders.

(To be continued.)

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By James Stewart.

"*The hope of the future.*"

I.

Boys and girls, soon you will have finished with school; you are anxious to get to work and to assist your parents in the struggle to keep things going at home; you, in truth, are the hope of the future.

We issue this appeal to you because you are of the working class. We address ourselves to you as Fellow Workers, and who has a better right to address you than a member of the same class as yourselves? We desire to have a quiet little talk with you about things concerning your own welfare, and that of the entire working class. We trust that this appeal will help you to take up a line of action in the workshop, the mine, or the mill, by which you will add your part to Labour's struggle to improve its lot. We want you to educate yourselves in the history of your class. Armed with a knowledge of that history, you will be able to play a noble part in the march of the workers towards freedom.

The iron nails that link the lands,
The ships that o'er the waves are driven
Are wrought by Labour's mighty hands,
To her be all the glory given.

Boys and girls, just think this over: The working class digs the coal, grows and makes food, spins the threads, weaves all the cloth, makes the clothes, moulds the type, prints the books, digs the stone, builds the houses, makes the roads, plants the trees, gathers the fruit, lays out the gardens, plants the flowers, makes the entire world beautiful, and renders possible a full and happy life for all. Meanwhile, rich people, who live wholly on invested capital, rents, or royalties, often slander and abuse us, saying that we are drunken, lazy, and ignorant, though they merely enjoy the things Labour has produced, without themselves producing anything. To live thus is to be a parasite.

In addition to rich people who do nothing but draw rents, royalties, and dividends, there are the organisers of production, who draw an altogether unfair proportion of the wealth produced in return for their services. The Workers' Socialist Government of Russia is endeavouring to set up an equal standard for all. This is what we claim.

Remember these things when you are in the workshop, mine, or mill.

(To be continued.)

NOW READY.

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THE REAL WAR FOR FREEDOM.

The War with the Central Empires is over, but the real war for freedom is only beginning.

The noisy crowds that rushed out to make holiday, cheering and flag-wagging when the news came that the armistice had been signed, failed to realise that this thing they were celebrating was no military victory, but the fruits of the Russian Revolution, which has evoked a workers' revolution also in Germany. The German Revolution is beginning; the moderate reformists are struggling now to protect the citadel of capitalism from utter destruction. That Prince Henry of Prussia, in escaping, sought to protect himself by hoisting a red flag to his motor, shows, more clearly than many a more important incident, the revolutionary temper of the German masses.

When the Kaiser abdicated and the Crown Prince renounced his right of succession, when Prince Max resigned the Chancellorship, and appointed to take his place one who was termed a Socialist, the old authorities still hoped to preserve the capitalist structure. The Decree of Abdication announced that, instead of a republic, a regency was to be set up, and it was rumoured that Prince Max of Baden was to be regent. Ebert, who became the new Chancellor (we refer to these things in the past tense because events are moving so rapidly that by to-morrow the situation may be absolutely changed), is described as a "Moderate Socialist." A "Moderate Socialist" is frequently not a Socialist at all. Ebert was not chosen as Chancellor by the German people at large, nor by the Socialist Party; he was appointed by Prince Max, no doubt because he was regarded as a fairly safe man and one of the lesser evils in these troublous times. In his first proclamation, Ebert announced his forthcoming Government, not as a Socialist Government, but a "People's Government" "formed in accord with the Parties." That obviously meant a Coalition Government of Socialists and non-Socialists. In a later proclamation he stated: "The Social Democratic Party has undertaken the Government and has invited the Independent Socialists to enter the Government with equal rights." That Ebert should find it necessary to issue a proclamation assuring the people that the independent Socialists, the Liebnecht Party, were to enter the Government with equal rights, is proof that the Independents possess the confidence of the masses. But though Ebert stated that the Social Democratic Party had undertaken the Government he was still evidently referring to a coalition, for a Reuter telegram sent on November 10th—the same day that the news of this proclamation was wired—stated that Erzberger of the Centre Party; Gothein, Progressive, and Baron von Richthofen are to enter the new Government as representatives of non-Socialist parties. The Independent Socialists were to have three seats in the Government—a minority representation which would have left them powerless.

Prince Max, in announcing the Kaiser's abdication, also promised the immediate grant of "general suffrage" and the erection of a Constituent Assembly, which would finally settle the future form of German government. The German workers, having seen their Russian comrades dissolve a similar Assembly, are hardly likely to be satisfied with this. Ebert's proclamations were not inspiring. His main appeal to the people was: "Leave the streets, preserve calm and order." He promised peace, freedom, and autonomy, and referred to the changes as a "political revolution." Evidently the need for a social and economic revolution had no immediate appeal for him.

The programme which Prince Max and Ebert put forward was not accepted by the Independent Socialists, who insisted that Germany should become a Socialist Republic, that the Executive, Legislative and Jurisdictionary power should be in the hands of persons elected by the workers and soldiers, and that representatives of the capitalist classes should have no part in the government.

The one-time majority Socialists, Ebert, Scheideman and the rest, who supported the Government through four years of war, refused to accede to the demands of the Independents on the ground that they meant "the dictatorship of one class, which is in opposition to democratic principles." Under Socialism there will be, there can be, but one class; those who use this argument do not contemplate the actual establishment of Socialism.

The example of Russia had evidently failed to convince the "social patriots."

The Revolution is being effected in Germany, as in Russia, not by the compromising politicians who seek to control it, but by the masses, by the workers who have downed tools and in doing so have risked their liberty, even their very lives, and by the soldiers who have made common cause with them. When the German workers struck in support of their Russian comrades who were striving for peace at Brest-Litovsk, the Government threatened and punished them, the Majority Socialists urged them back to work, and the trade union leaders refused them strike pay. To-day matters are gone too far for that. The workers are well organised; therefore the politicians strive to humour them.

Workers' and Soldiers' Councils are arising throughout Germany and are taking over both the local and national Government, as they have done in Russia. It seems that in Berlin the workers and soldiers captured the majority of the public buildings with little difficulty, there being, indeed, no force to repel them. When they reached the Reichstag building they were met by Scheidemann, the Majority Socialist leader, who told them that the Kaiser had abdicated and that Ebert had been charged to form a new government. Scheidemann called this a "splendid victory for the German people." As usual, the "moderate" politicians had been busy making a compromise, and whilst the people outside had secured the power to dictate, Scheidemann and his colleagues had been bargaining away the victory of the workers and soldiers for a regency and a coalition! But the matter could not rest there: the workers refused to accept the compromise.

Finding the Independent Socialist, obdurate, the old Majority Party, which is really the Committee of the Social Democratic Party, agreed that a Socialist Cabinet should be formed, in which the capitalist parties should have no representation. It should consist of three Independent Socialists and three members of the Social Democratic Party, who, as the People's Commissiaries, would have equal authority; each of these Ministers to have two assistants of equal standing, one drawn from the Independents, one from the S.D.P.; Ministers occupying technical posts to be mere technical assessors to the Government. The Government is to be responsible to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in which all political authority is to be vested. The Councils are to be summoned forthwith to a Plenary Assembly. A compromise has been arrived at on the question of a Constituent Assembly, which is to be left over for decision until the power of the revolution has been consolidated.

The Social Democratic Party has nominated Ebert, Scheidemann, and Landsberg to represent it. The Independents have chosen Barth, Dittmann, and Hasse.

Where is Liebnecht? His is the name for which all are looking. We think that he is not yet satisfied; that he regards the S.D.P. as representing capitalist interests still and refuses to enter a Coalition with it. We think that there is a party of German Socialists still more independent than the Independent Social Democrats.

THE ARMISTICE.

In spite of the fact that this has been advertised as a war of democracy against autocracy, the vast changes taking place in Germany do not appear to have modified the determination of the Allied Governments to punish and to chain up the Germans as though they were wild beasts preparing to spring. Mr. Lloyd George on Saturday, at the Guildhall declared "Germany, with the full assent of her people, committed this atrocious crime against humanity." That it is not so. He knows that the people of Germany were not consulted in the declaration of war. They were presented with an accomplished fact. Moreover, the Government of Germany, like the Governments of all the belligerents, by the censorship and by various War Acts, such as the Defence of the Realm Act, took pains to allow the peoples to be familiarised only with the official version of the War.

Sir Auckland Geddes, who followed, clearly showed that it is the German people who have given to the Allies this victory, which, but for the internal convulsion in Germany, would certainly have been delayed for many months. Sir Ackland Geddes said:—

"A very interesting thing happened not a fortnight ago. Those of us who were charged with the responsibility waited hourly for the possibility of a naval Armageddon. The whole stage was set for a great sea battle but something went wrong. The arm that was going to try a last desperate gambling stroke was paralysed. The German navy, I am as convinced as I know I am standing here this night, was ordeerd out and the men would not go. (Cheers.)

"About eight months ago a similar thing happened on a small scale. It was after the time of the actions of Ostend and Zeebrugge—I can tell now what I could not tell then—that the gradual ringing in of the German forces day and night the activity in the Bight resulted in a loss in the first six months of this year of over 100 surface craft. Then gradually the British navy drove its steel into the vitals of the German navy and the small craft minelayers' mine-sweepers patrol boats and escort craft could not stand it and they mutinied. The first mutiny of the German fleet was put down. The present mutiny has not been put down. To-day half the German fleet is flying the Red Flag because it realises that it is not engaged in a good cause."

Mr. Churchill, in a speech to the Board of Management Representation Committee, at the Miinstry of Munitions, on November 7th, placed an interpretation upon the armistice terms which cannot be ignored by Socialists and those who desire the freedom of peoples:—

"Although the conditions of the armistice will be such that Germany comes to the council table handcuffed incapable of resuming the struggle, yet we shall not be entitled to dismiss altogether from our minds the possibility of considerable disorders breaking out. At any rate it would be prejudicial to the chances of reaching a solid peace if it were thought we had so far dislocated our military machinery as ourselves not to be capable of resuming the struggle. We have to stand on guard until everything is finally settled.

"Consider the broad aspect of the world. It is very dangerous. We have overthrown these guilty nations and Empires, and they are collapsing into ruin which can hardly be measured—into a complete breakdown of the authority in whom the peoples have lost confidence, by whom the peoples have been led into this career of crime and to this disastrous result. A complete breakdown is threatened, or is operative, over the great military nations with whom we have been warring, of respect for the constituted authorities. That is formidable when you consider how many millions of the human race are involved. Russia, Persia,

the Balkans, Turkey, China, and Mexico are all in various stages of anarchy disorder and distress. Russia is the most melancholy spectacle of weltering chaos which a vast commnuity has ever presented and I cannot feel that the victorious Powers can possibly divest themselves of great responsibilities in amending the state into which the world has fallen in the course of this quarrel. You win, but you win the right only to further great responsibilities, and I cannot suppose that even if a complete armistice is arrived at almost immediately, giving us in every respect what we require, the possibilities of the need of the use of war materials on a great scale, or the need for maintaining for a long period very considerable Armies by all the Allied and associated Governments will not be forced upon us. Therefore I say that there is thorough justification for not immediately throwing recklessley out of gear regardless of waste and convenience the whole of our war production. "

The Manchester Guardian assumes this to mean that the Allies may maintain large armies after the War "for the purpose of keeping order in the beaten countries." We cannot doubt that this is the correct interpretation of the speech and the armistice terms seem to us to be framed with that view.

Major-General Sir F. Maurice, who approves the armistice, expresses in *The Daily News* the same opinion :—

"The terms of armistice are so clear as to require little explanation. They have obviously been based upon precedent, and in particular upon upon the precedent of 1871. They are severe and they fulfil the essential conditions of any satisfactory armistice, in that they make it impossible for the enemy to renew hostilities except by some such mad and desperate freak as a Communist rising.

"It is obvious that seeing what the internal conditions of Germany are to-day and what they may be in the near future, we can relax no precautions. The Allies have now at their disposal a weapon to enforce the fulfilment of the engagements which the enemy has been called upon to take such as no victor has ever before possessed. With our troops in occupation of the Rhineland, there will be no part of Germany which cannot be reached by our air craft and this should serve as an adequate warning should any German be mad enough to try to raise the country against the Allies.

"The occupation of the Rhineland and of Lorraine gives the Allies control of the most important industrial districts of Germany of her principal coal and iron mines and steel works, including the famous Krupp works at Essen."

Much has been said against the German treatment of the French after the War of 1870. And now we find people congratulating themselves on the application to Germany of measures which they declare to be based on that precedent; these measures to be employed not against the autocratic Germany of the past but against a Germany in the throes of a Workers' Revolution !

Though the Allied Governments have probably determined the matter to their own satisfaction, the peoples have not been informed as to whether the peace terms will make permanent what has been done by the armistice, whether they will give back to the Central Empires anything that the armistice has taken from them, or whether, on the contrary, the Peace Conference, will still further despoil them. It is interesting in this connection to note that the German armistice agrees in many respects with the Secret Treaties.

The secret agreement of February 1st, 1917, promises to France :—

"The restoration of Alsace Lorraine and the inclusion in French territory of the central iron district of Lorraine and of the entire coal district of the Saar Valley.

[The Saar Valley contains valuable coalmines its population is predominantly German.]

The territories on the left bank of the Rhine which form part of the German Empire were to be "entirely separated from Germany and freed from all political and economic dependence on her." They were to become an autonomous and neutral State "and to be occupied by French troops until such time as the enemy States should completely satisfy all the conditions and guarantees indicated in the Treaty of Peace."

[History shows that small neutral States existing under such conditions are usually absorbed in time by the occupying Power.]

The armistice lays down that Germany shall evacuate Alsace-Lorraine; also the part of Germany to the left of the Rhine, and even some part of Germany on the right bank. Here is the actual order :—

"V. Evacuation by the German Armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. These countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local authorities under the control of the Allied and United States Armies of occupation.

"The occupation of theses territories will be carried out by Allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine (Mayence Coblenz Cologne) together with bridgeheads at these points of a 30 kilomotre [about 19 miles] radius, on the right bank, and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of the regions.

"A neutral zone shall be set up on the right bank of the Rhine between the river and a line drawn 10 kilometres [6¼ miles] distant, starting from the Dutch frontier to the Swiss frontier. In the case of inhabitants no person shall be prosecuted for having taken part in any military measures previous to the signing of the armistice."

The Secret Treaties indicated that Germany would lose her African Colonies. The Treaty of London, April 26th, 1915, between Britain, France, Russia, and Italy, Article 13, promises that if France and Britain take some of Germany's Colonies, Italy shall also get an extension of territory :—

"Should France and Great Britain extend their Colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany they will admit in principle Italy's right to demand certain compensation by way of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland and Libya and the Colonial areas adjoining French and British Colonies."

The Allies have already conquered the German Colonies, but in East Africa, apparently, the seizure is still incomplete, for the armistice declares :—

"unconditional evacuation of all German forces operating in East Africa within one month."

The Treaty of April 26th, 1915, which contained the conditions on which Italy should enter the War, promised Italy territories forming part of the Austrian Empire, including : the Trentino, Gorizia, Trieste, the province of Dalmatia, and a number of rocks and islands. Comparing the passages in which these objects of conquest are set forth in the Secret Treaties, with the terms of the present armistice, we find that the very frontier line, with its towns, watersheds, and mountain peaks, promised to Italy by the Secret Treaties, is given as the line behind which the Armistice dictates that the Austrians shall withdraw ! The armistice announces that these territories will be occupied by Allied Armies.

Lord Northcliffe's terms, which the Government declared to be unofficial, but which were circulated in a very official manner, confirm our view about the territories held under the armistice.

Northcliffe's terms are exceedingly far-reaching ; they dismember Austria-Hungary and cut up the Empire into a number of separate States, leaving to Hungary only a small part of it, which (according to the authorities he favours) includes the ethnographic limits of the Magyar race.

The German people, striving to establish the Socialist Commonwealth, are grievously handicapped by war hardship and scarcity ; the terms of the Armistice heap upon them further enormous burdens. A heavy toll is exacted in guns, aeroplanes, ships (including all their submarines), barges, cattle, food, coal, and other necessaries, locomotives, wagons, and motors. If the German Sailors should mutiny and refuse to surrender their ships to the Allies, the Allies will occupy Heligoland as a base from which they will enforce the terms of theArmistice. The German people are to pay for the upkeep of the armies of occupation in the Rhineland (excluding Alsace-Lorraine). The blockade, which is starving the men, women, and children of Germany, is to continue. We allude later to President Wilson's promise of sending food. The Allies will take possession of railways, waterways, and telegraphs, and will occupy the most important industrial districts of Germany.

"Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way and their *personelle* shall not be moved."

This would seem to indicate that the workers may not leave the factories where they have been employed. Is it intended to put industrial compulsion upon them, as it has been put upon prisoners of war during hostilities ?

The Austrian armistice in all these points coincides with that imposed on Germany, but Germany is made to pay the heavier price.

The Buckarest and Brest-Litovsk Treaties are ended, but it is not stated that the territories occupied by Germany are to be returned to Russia, nor, it seems, even to Roumania. As the German, Austrian, and Turkish troops withdraw from the territories they have occupied, the Allied troops will apparently replace them. Turkey was told to remain in Russian Trans-Caucasia till the Allies had considered the situation there. Germany is told to withdraw from Russian territory "as soon as the Allies shall think the moment suitable" ! It is indicated by article 16 that the Allies are to have free access to these territories "for the purpose of maintaining order." The gold which Germany obtained from Russia and Roumania is not at once to be returned to those impoverished countries, but to be delivered to the Allies, who are to hold it until the signature of peace. Is there a Workers' Revolution also in Roumania ?

The Russian warships seized by Germany are to be handed over, not to Russia, but to the Allies.

Undoubtedly the victory of the Allies is a threat to Russia, for the Allies are able now to invade Russia from the South. *The Manchester Guardian* of November 11th publishes a telegram from Rome to *The New York Herald* which says :—

"In Russian quarters here it has been learned that the Soviets are in terror over the imminent danger of the Allies disembarking on the shores of the Black Sea."

The Guardian of the same date also publishes the following statement, of which we have seen no confirmation :—

PARIS *Saturday.*

A telegram from Helsingfors to Zurich states that M. Trotsky has resigned and been replaced as War Commissary by M. Skiliansky. A counter-revolutionary army 12,000 strong from the Pskoff region is marching on Petrograd.

And what has Wilson to say to all this ? According to his press reputation he should be coming forward as the champion of the oppressed democracies, the champion of the people's right to self-determination, and of his own fourteen points !

"Wilson's Peace Program" is *The Star's* main headline. Eagerly scan it ; what has he to say ? "Armed Imperialism....at an end" ; "Disinterested Justice" ; "The victors....to satisfy and protect the weak." Words ! words ! but what is the programme ?—

"The human temper and intention of the victorious Governments has already been manifested in a very practical way. Their representatives in the supreme War Council at Versailles have by unanimous resolution assured the peoples of the Central Empires that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want, that is in so many places threatening their very lives, and steps are to be taken immediately to organise these efforts at relief in the same systematic manner in which they were organised in the case of Belgium."

Here is the gist of it. With your armies and navies occupying the ports of a people struggling to establish a new civilisation, seize their ships, stop their commerce, take possession of their railways and factories—then send relief to feed them ! There is the programme !

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

DOUSHAN POPOVITCH. A Personal Memoir.

The night before he was taken ill, Popovitch and I sat by the fire till very late. He would walk home, he said. He sat back in the chair, and talked with closed eyes. I watched him closely and fancied he was tired. We talked of many things: of the changes war had made and would still make; of the International and of its failure as an official body; of the hatred said to exist between the Serbians and Bulgars; of the financial speculations of the late King of Montenegro; of the great affection of Dr. Adler, the Austrian Socialist leader, for his son, who, during the present war, had fired the first shot to defend justice; of the humanity of the Austrian soldiers towards Serbian prisoners; of Trotzky, whom he knew well and admired; and of many other things that were near to our hearts. We laughed at Gompers' pretention to speak in the name of all the organised Labour Movement of America; we made fun of someone who shall be nameless. We rose; we fixed an appointment that nevermore shall be kept; I led him in the darkened streets, in the dark night. I parted with him, unknowingly, for ever, little thinking that in the rapid moving of a few days the best of us would be cold clay.

The following day, October 9th, he was suddenly taken ill, and carried to the French Hospital. Ten days after he wrote: "I was operated upon for abdominal tumour. The operation was difficult and dangerous: everything is still undecided. Write to me; it will be a distraction for me; above all any political news of interest....Give my best wishes to our dear comrade, Miss Pankhurst."

At break of day, on Thursday last, he was no more.

* * *

For ten years, up to the invasion of Serbia, Popovitch edited at Belgrade a Serbian Socialist daily; he was also for many years the Secretary of the Serbian Socialist Party. Neither during the Balkan War nor during the present one, did he for a moment lower the flag of International Socialism. Detained for many months in Austria, he was finally allowed to go to Stockholm for the proposed International Congress; thanks to the efforts of Dr. Adler. Thence he travelled to England to take part in the Inter-Allied Conference.

His father had been killed, although a civilian, during the invasion of Serbia; for over twenty months he had received no news either of his wife or of his only child. He bore the misfortune with a stoic heart and never a word of hatred escaped his lips.

At the last Inter-Allied Conference he had at first decided to follow the example of the Italian Socialists and keep aloof from a Conference engineered by Gompers. At the last moment, out of solidarity with the French comrades, he decided to take part. He regretted it strongly during those days: for, by a misunderstanding, his name had been appended to two of the tame resolutions produced by the sub-committees. "I never made such a big fool of myself in all my life," he said to the editor of this paper. Later in the day he spoke at the Conference and delivered a message of his faith. His was the only sure Socialist voice heard at those sittings. He was, of course, in the hopeless minority of one. Even in those days his clear mind had perceived the changes, hidden to the politicians, that were already taking place in Germany. Whilst all the rest were demanding a "change of heart" in the German people and were indicting the German Socialists, "Remember," said he, "that it is highly probable that the patriotic Socialists are no longer a force in Germany: the Internationalists are now, not in appearance as yet, but already in reality, the majority inside the party: act accordingly." Truly, at that time, an illuminating remark.

As to the War having lasted so long, contrary to all previsions, Popovitch had advanced an original and, to my mind, true theory. It was due to the industrial mobilisation of women; in all belligerent countries probably as many women had taken the place of the male workers withdrawn from useful production to the fields of battle. Thus, women—it is true under the pressure of economic circumstances—made possible the continuation of the slaughter of the battlefield.

Concerning the future of the International, Popovitch held that it had to be reconstructed only with the elements of the Left; those who had taken part in or supported their respective Governments should not longer be admitted. He had expressed these views in THE DREADNOUGHT, in *The Call*, and in the *Populaire* of Paris.

In his native country his work as Socialist will rapidly acquire an historical importance, and many of his newspaper articles will surely be collected and reprinted.

In London where, in spite of his little-spoken English, he had made many friends; in the International Socialist Movement that loses in him one of the clearest and best-informed minds, his death, even in these days when life is so cheap, will be keenly felt.

* * *

From the pages of this paper that the workers read and love, Comrade Popovitch, dead in a strange country and yet not in exile, farewell! Those of us who do not believe in the hereafter, but hold that death is a sleep eternal, fated, welcome; bring to you in deep sorrow and yet without tears, in communion with all other comrades, the last offerings of love, of friendship, of comradeship.

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

A successful mass meeting was held on Sunday, November 10th, at the Poplar Hippodrome, Comrade T. Brown (Chairman of the Committee) presiding. After the Chairman's opening remarks W. E. Day, the Secretary, gave the history of the East London Movement, and intimated that it was the intention of the Committee to affiliate to the London Workers' Committee and the National Movement. G. Gilchrist and J. J. Vaughan followed with stirring appeals for support for the Shop Stewards' Movement, showing the absurdity and futility of sectional trade unionism.

Arthur McManus, who received a great ovation, told us not to worry about Governmental schemes of reconstruction. Under Addison's schemes we should be wage-slaves still, however much our chains might be gilded. Immediately peace is declared, said Mac, we must demand the release of McLean and all C.O.s.

Jock Muir of the E.T.U., referring to a recent strike, said the men were inclined to remain in and take possession. The National Workers' Committee must meet the German and Austrian comrades, and all must help to save the Russian revolution.

Jack Mooney made a rousing appeal for an agitation to save his brother Tom from the American capitalists; and Harry Pollitt (who came from hospital to be present at the meeting) caustically dealt with the disorganisation of the workers. W. F. Watson followed with an outline of the London Movement, urging the need for a London District Council of Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees to co-ordinate the activities of all committees at present in existence. The following resolution was adopted: "that this mass meeting of shipyard workers hereby endorses the principles of the shop stewards' movement, and further declares its intention to use every endeavour to strengthen the movement."

Joe Burke moved a resolution demanding the release of McLean.

THE RE-UNION OF REBELS.

The dinner and re-union, organised by the London Workers' Committee, duly took place on Saturday at the Old Bell Restaurant, and in spite of the activities of the stewards from Scotland proved a huge success. On the previous day I received an urgent summons from the good Host of the Bell, and went along to see him and the General Manager of the Home Counties Public House Trust, the proprietors of the house. They informed me they had been warned that there was likely to be serious trouble owing to the revolutionary character of the function. They were both greatly agitated about it and anxious to accommodate us. The General Manager, who with Mr. Anderson was very courteous, during the interview told us he was quite unable to get any definite information. The authorities did not openly prohibit the dinner, but insinuated to the landlord that the reputation of his hostelry was in jeopardy.

However, it did not come off. We accepted full responsibility for the good conduct of the gathering, with the result that everything passed off without a hitch. Although only about 130 had expressed their intention of being present we asked Mr. Anderson to lay tables for 180, but several came along unexpectedly and it was "Bill, I haven't got a ticket. Can you find room for me?" "Tom, old man, I have brought a couple of pals with me. Try and fix them up." Mr. Anderson and his good assistants promptly got more tables and finally made room for 205.

A workshop string-band ably assisted by Alf Stocks rendered beautiful music. The company afterwards assembled in the big room where a flash-light photo was taken by Comrade Hunt, copies of which may be had at 4*s.* 6*d.* upon application to W. F. Watson, 7 Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.1. Then we started on the programme. After a selection by the pianist, Mr. Basden, Alf Stocks gave us 'Kuyawak' on his violin. Cedar Paul's rendering of 'Dark Rosalind' was splendid, and Tom Lennard's 'Shurrup' was appreciated by all. Then came the toasts. Space will not permit of us dealing at length with the speeches. Suffice it to say that all speakers struck an entirely new note, and, of course, the greatest interest was around the International. The enthusiasm with which the speeches of McManus and Eden Paul were received is a good augury of the growing belief in the efficacy of a real Workers' International.

The Workers, said Eden Paul, will probably be able to force the Capitalist Government, much against their will, to resume diplomatic relations with Russia. We workers shall also send an Embassy to Russia; but our relations with the Soviet Republic will not be "diplomatic," they will be fraternal and revolutionary. The Bolshevists in all land will be the basis of the New International.

The Capitalist League of Nations must be repudiated and the International must be built up apart from and independent of any capitalist Institution, and must be composed of the real producers of wealth.

Cedar Paul, who has a magnificent voice, sang the first, fifth and last verses of the International in French as a compliment to the foreigner comrades present, the company joining in the chorus. We must pay a tribute to our Comrades Bradburn (baritone) and Couzins (tenor), both of whom sang remarkably well.

A memorable occasion fittingly concluded by everyone singing the 'Red Flag.' The rendering of the last verse "With heads uncovered swear we all to bear it onward till we fall." made one feel that the working people were, at long last awakening, and that the Capitalist system was doomed. ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS' COMMITTEES!

SHEFFIELD NOTES.

At a large air craft works in Sheffield a stay-in strike recently occurred. Men and women downed tools and held a meeting in the factory refusing to work under the under-manager, a Frenchman, whom they accused of autocratic methods. Within 15 minutes the under manager was suspended.

At a certain Sheffield firm whose titled representative is making speeches up and down the country on the community of interest between Capital and Labour, the discharged soldiers are having a particularly rough time. Many of them who are certified as only fit for the lightest work as a result of wounds received in the battles of Mons and the Marne, and so on, are being put to hard laborious work and if they make protest are dismissed.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

A moribund Parliament, in more senses than one and a world in flame. The life of the nation, outside St. Stephen's, throbbing in fields, factories and workshops at the eve of a National re-birth: but faintly mirrored, pale and distorted in the debates, which seem like long past history already.

November 5th.—"Questions" in the House are always interesting. Members have then some liberty. Like jolly schoolboys they take advantage of it. The benches are not full yet: members stroll in leisurely from Lobby, Committees and smoking rooms. Witticisms are heard, occasionally; embarrassing questions are answered from typewritten replies.

NOMINAL PATRIOTISM.

On Tuesday Colonel Lowther desires the Prime Minister to say "whether, in view of the countless acts of brutality perpetrated by the German people during the war," he would re-name all the streets in this country bearing German names, Coburg, Brunswick, &c. One shudders at the thought of such awful punishment befalling the Princely House of Coburg from which Queen Victoria's husband was chosen! On the other hand, whilst we do not question the patriotism of the tenants of Coburg Road, that opens from the Old Kent Road on to the lonely vistas of the Grand Surrey Canal, we doubt not they would have no objection to sticking to the old name, provided the landlords of that street were to whitewash and repair a few leaky ceilings, re-paper the walls and (shall we dare to say it?) build a few bathrooms.

From a reply to a question by Major Newman, we learn that veteran sailors and soldiers have received the same advance of 2*s.* 6*d.* as old age pensioners, thus receiving at 70 and over, at least 12*s.* 9*d.* per week, which, we are sorry to say, is less than what we spend for a half-bottle of champagne at our lunch at the Ritz.

Mr. Hogge has an inquiring mind: he would like to know what increase the Minister of Pensions proposes to make in Military Pensions. Colonel Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen "is not yet in a position to make any statement."

BOLSHEVISM.

Mr. King inquires by whose orders Henry Gogol of 21, St. James Road, Higher Broughton, Manchester, has been arrested: what are the charges against him. "He was a Russian concerned with Bolshevist propaganda," says Sir G. Cave, "and he was arrested for the purpose of deportation, in the interests of this country."

Presently the House grows attentive: *re* Murphies, alias spuds, alias 'taters. General MacCalmont asks the Home Secretary whether his attention has been called to the case in which a party of German prisoners were found stealing potatoes from fields at night; whether these prisoners were supposed to be under military guards, and what steps have been taken to deal with those responsible and to prevent the recurrence of such incidents? "Two men concerned have been summoned," says Sir G. Cave, "but a third man could not be identified." Oh! those Germans!

November 6th.—Commander Bellairs elicits "The answer is in the affirmative," to his question whether maximum alternative pension which the widow of an ordinary seaman can obtain, if the man dies of a disease contracted on duty, is £130 per annum.

There are still "inevitable isolated cases of failure" to pay separation allowances promptly to the wife, admits the Financial Secretary to the War Office, replying to Sir J. D. Rees.

Women doctors serving in Military Hospitals, discharging similar duties and receiving similar pay to men doctors, are refused "even honorary commissions," for, says the Under Secretary of State for War," it is illegal to grant them."

BOYS UNDER NINETEEN IN THE TRENCHES.

Soldiers of the Gordon Highlanders under 19 years early in September were sent to France and to the firing line, admits Mr. Macpherson. They are now "being returned to England." "It was a gross blunder," insists the questioner, Mr. Harris, "and there is a very strong feeling amongst parents at the serious breach of faith."

Mr. King asserts that soldiers in the military prison at Gabbari (Alexandria) cannot quote scripture in their letters home, and also that Private Kapeller, who had enlisted and served as non-combatant, was sent to Cairo for Infantry training and was there threatened with trial and the death penalty for mutiny. The War Office will "make inquiries.".

CAN JOHN McLEAN STAND FOR PARLIAMENT?

John McLean, says Mr. King, is still in Peterhead prison: how many times has he been forcibly fed since July last: are his bodily and nervous conditions sound: is he capable of being nominated as a Parliamentary candidate in the constituency where he is the adopted Labour representative? McLean, answers Mr. Munro, has been artificially fed twice a day since July last (that is over four months), but no application of force has been required on any occasion. His condition is reported to be satisfactory....There is no reason to anticipate serious consequences to McLean's health. As regards the last part of the question "I have no authority to express an opinion"—Mr. King: "Has the Right Hon. Gentleman any intention of allowing this man, who is regarded in Scotland as a sort of martyr, to be released?" Mr. Munro: "I cannot accept the last part of the question as being correct, and I see no reason, as at present advised, why he should be released." Mr. King: "Does he really mean that there are not thousands of men in Scotland who regard him as a martyr?" Mr. Munro: "I am not aware of it." Mr. King: "I am." Mr. Pringle: "Would the right hon. gentleman allow the gentleman representing him at his election to see him in prison?" Mr. Munro: "I have considered that question very carefully, and I do not see my way to comply with it.".

DEMOBILISATION.

Mr. Chancellor desires to know something about Demobilisation. Dr. Addison cannot state the principles adopted, but in general "Demobilisation will be primarily governed by industrial needs and opportunities of employment." The workers should make a note of this answer, for the natural inference is, that not the interests of the men, but those of the master, will be considered. This after all is no novelty.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

From a question by Mr. Snowden one gathers that Arthur Greyson of Liverpool has been in hospital since July 24th, and in the opinion of the Home Secretary the condition of his health does not afford sufficient reason for authorising his release.

C.O.s taken from Walton Prison to Wakefield, on being returned to prison were deprived of all privileges for a week. Sir G. Cave adds: 'They refused to obey orders and were punished by reduction in stage and withdrawal of privileges. On transfer to Liverpool Prison they were still under such punishment."

A coloured man named Hall, also a C.O., in Pentonville Prison, "has been awarded punishment on several occasions for refusing to work and obey orders, damage to prison property and noisy conduct." "I cannot interfere with the discretion of the magistrates," says the Home Secretary.

THE BRITISH ARMY AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

"By the clause in the Austrian armistice terms that authorises our troops in Austro-Hungary to keep order, is it intended that they should be used to suppress revolution and to protect the lives and property of the old military caste of Austria-Hungary?" asks Colonel Wedgwood "This question is so hypothetical that I cannot answer it," replies Mr. Bonar Law.

"SOME" GOLD.

Lord R. Cecil admits it is correct that the Czechs at Kazan have captured £65,000,000 sterling in glod: that such sum has been sent eastwards and is believed to be now at Omsk. Mr. King: "Is this large sum at the disposal of the Czecho-Slovak Government or the Provisional Government?" Lord R. Cecil: "I think by the Russian authorities at Omsk. I think so. I am not sure." Mr. King: "Are the Russian authorities the Bolshevists? Lord R. Cecil: "No, Sir"!!

IRISH PRISONERS.

Irish prisoners interned under Regulation 14 B. are allowed a visit from not more than two near relatives once in three months. A few such visits have been paid, and some prisoners have declined to receive visits on account of the conditions attached thereto; conditions that, in their opinion, were intentionally onerous, adds Mr. King.

WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

In Committee on the Bill to make women eligible for Parliament Mr. Holt desires to defer the qualifying age. His amendment is negatived and Sir Charles Henry apparently fears that a flapper (Oh! memories of the Strand Corner H House!) might present herself for election, though men, by legislative enactment are debarred until twenty-one. He is gravely corrected by Sir Frederick Banbury; but how absurd is the suggestion that a woman must wait to vote until she is thirty, though at twenty-one she may sit in the House of Commons!

MODERATE SOCIALISTS JOIN BOLSHEVIKI.

The *Avanti* reports, on the authority of Genosse, a very reliable correspondent, that the Russian Mensheviki (the Social Democrats who were formally in opposition to the Bolsheviki and favoured a more moderate programme), at their meeting on October 21st, declared that the Bolshevik revolution of October, 1917, was an historical necessity. They further announced their refusal to enter into any political collaboration with parties hostile to democracy, or to take part in any coalition with capitalistic leanings, even though it might sail under democratic colours. In the international field, the Mensheviki announced their aim to be the restoration of the unity and independence of Russia in accordance with the ideals of the Revolution. They repudiated the interference of foreign capitalists in the internal affairs of Russia, declaring themselves in agreement with the Soviet Government in its efforts to free Russia from the foreign intervention.

The passing of this resolution is interpreted by Russian public opinion as the conversion of the Mensheviki to Bolshevism.

Now that the Mensheviki have repudiated all connection with the counter-revolution, their leader Abramovitch, has been released from prison. The conduct of Paul Axelrod, who is working against the Bolsheviki, remains inexplicable, but the Mensheviki declare that he acts only on his own responsibility and they officially repudiate him, thus destroying the importance of his propaganda.

As Kerensky and other Russians, who have been put forward as appealing for Allied intervention, have always urged their plea as coming from the Moderate Socialists, the bottom is hereby knocked out of the arguments in support of interfering in Russian affairs.

RUSSIA PROPOSES PEACE.

STOCKHOLM *Thursday.*

A Petrograd telegram announces that a Soviet Congress opened yesterday at Moscow 800 delegates being present. The President Sverdloff was supported by Zinovieff President of Council of Commissioners of the Petrograd Commune; by Kameneff diplomatic representative of the People's Commissioners; and Stevloff; also Lenin Dr. Adler and Herr Liebknecht (the Austrian and German Socialist leaders) as honorary presidents. The following declaration was passed:—

"This congress considers it its duty to the entire universe in order to stop bloodshed to propose to the Governments of France Great Britain Italy the United States and Japan to begin peace negotiations."—Reuter.

The commentary of *The Daily Mail* is:—

"It looks as though Lenin and his gang fear Allied operations through the Ukraine, with possibly Odessa as a base."

IRISH NATIONALISTS APPEAL TO WILSON.

The Irish Nationalists have addressed an appeal for help to President Wilson in which they urge him to see that his declarations regarding the freedom of small nations shall be applied to Ireland. This appeal is full of contradictions. It declares that Ireland is governed "on the lines of repression, militarism, and all the other doctrines of that hideous reign of Junkerism in Germany which the armies of free nations have at last brought to the earth." We think that the Irish will make a very great mistake if they rest any hopes on the result of such appeals. The fate of Ireland will be settled by the internal condition of Ireland herself and that of Britain.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15th.
White Cross Street, City Road.—12.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in Poplar and Canning Town.—Meet at 2.45 P.M. and 5 P.M. at 20, Railway Street. Speakers: Mrs. Clara Cole, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker and Mr. Moscovitch.
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 17th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
The Grove, Hammersmith.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19th.
Tower Hill.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22nd.
Queen's Crescent.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23rd.
Great Push in Hoxton.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15th.
400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting, London Section.
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 17th.
Toynbee Hall.—7.30 P.M., Mr. L. Hogben, 'Significance of the Russian Revolution.'
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19th.
400, Old Ford Road.—2.30 P.M., Mrs. Brimley.
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21st.
29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields.—7.30 P.M.
76, Whitechapel Road, Stepney W.S.F.—8 P.M., Miss Horsfall, 'Life in an English Colliery Village.' Chair: Mr. Moscovitch.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—7 P.M., Miss Eva Gore Booth will give a reading from her own works. Chair: Miss Horsfall.

FEDERATION NOTES.

A Cockney Fair Committee Meeting will be held at 400 Old Ford Road E.3 at 8.30 P.M. on Wednesday November 20th (No. 8 Bus to the corner of St. Stephen's Road and Old Ford Road). All willing to help are invited. Clerical help needed at once.

Bill distributors for the John McLean and Political Prisoners' Release Demonstration to be held in Finsbury Park November 24th at 3 P.M. should communicate with Norah Smyth 400 Old Ford Road E.3.

LEYTON BRANCH.—*Hon. Secretary* Mrs. Hart 73 Calderon Road. A meeting will be held at Leonard's Academy, High Street, Leytonstone on Wednesday November 20th at 7 P.M. Speaker: Mr. Moscovitch on 'The Control of Industry by the Workers.' Chair: Mrs. Edmunds. All are welcome. Admission free.

SHEFFIELD W.S.F.—Successful open-air meetings have been held during the last fortnight under the joint auspices of the W.S.F. and B.S.P. outside the workshop gates.

Last week two successful dinner-hour meetings were held outside Hadfields to support the Parliamentary candidature of Commrade Murray, B.S.P. and S.W.F. (also protest against J. McLean and Miss Pankhurst's fine). H. R. Goldstone, Murray and Maddon gave good addresses. Good sale of DREADNOUGHTS and other literature. Two dinner-hour meetings were also held outside Vickers' Gates, for same purpose as above. Murray and Goldstone were the speakers. Points went home especially to discharged men attending.

Dinner-hour meetings at Hadfields, Vickers, and Cammalls, will be continued during the next few weeks, and Sunday morning meetings will be held at Westbar, Sheffield. Speakers, H. R. Goldstone, Maddon, Carford, and prospective Socialist candidates.

An urgent and important business meeting of Sheffield Branch W.S.F. will take place on Sunday, November 24th, 8.30 P.M. at the B.S.P. rooms. Every member should attend. Will members in arrears, send contributions as soon as possible to G. Carford, Secretary, 183, West Street, Sheffield.

Continued from page 1118

(c) In the event of the flat changing hands, the furniture provided for the installed family according to list, may be returned to the former occupier of the flat at the discretion of the committee, as mentioned in paragraph 3.

7. Families of Red Guards who are at the front and of the unemployed who have been turned off from work, have the first claim on vacant rooms. (See paragraph 1.)

8. In the distribution of flats and rooms the first claim is on vacant private dwellings and flats: remark (B. 1 sec. 3), premises of clubs (except those used for educational purposes) and all vacant premises adaptable for human habitation. Whole families may be installed in these premises and the house committee, taking into consideration the size of the rooms, may allot to such families fewer than the fixed number of rooms. (Sec. 1.)

The second claim is on vacant rooms in hotels and on furnished apartments, observing the conditions laid down in Sec. 3 B.

When all the above mentioned premises have been absorbed, the next claim is on rooms in the flats of persons who live on incomes derived from business undertakings and who occupy premises in which the number of rooms is in excess of the stipulation laid down in Sec. 1 of the instruction.

Rooms and flats of persons earning their living are claimed last in the event of the number of rooms being in excess of the stipulation of Sec. 1.

In the event of the occupiers of the flat being unemployed they are relieved from the necessity of paying rent for the portion of the flat occupied by the installed person or family, and also from providing heating, lighting, &c.

9. In the allotment of flats and rooms to families of workers the house committee satisfies the needs (1) of large families and families of the unemployed whose housing conditions are very bad; (2) of small families, and (3) of single unemployed persons

10. The dearth of vacant premises in working-class districts is to be made good by flats in other districts, primarily in the adjacent districts. For this purpose a general mixed district house committee is to be formed from representatives of district committees.

11. To secure a correct compilation of vacant or to be evacuated premises, and also continuous control over the carrying out of the decree regulating the allotment of dwellings, the post of instructor is created in the district of each Commissariat. The duty of the instructor is: to register all flats and rooms already occupied or to be occupied by workers' families: to adopt sanitary and hygienic measures, to prevent the spread of disease and epidemics; to receive all manner of complaints and notifications on the part of people interested and engaged in that work. The instructor reports on all his actions to the house committee to whom he is responsible.

12. Persons who, in carrying out the decree, infringe the actual instructions, will be called to account irrespective of their position before the People's Tribunal, where all complaints should be lodged.

13. A copy of the actual instruction must be sent for guidance and as an order by the District Soviets to all the house committees, People's Tribunals and municipalities.

Signed
For the President of the District Council,
LEJEN, *Secretary*.

THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS.

The result of the American Elections is a triumph for re-action—Victor Berger is the only Socialist returned. P. W. Wilson of *The Daily News* states that Republicans and Democrats worked together to secure the defeat of the Socialist candidates amongst whom was Mayer London. Henry Ford of "peace ship" fame, had a bad attack of "war madness," when America entered the war; we have not heard that he has reverted to his older, and saner, outlook. Moreover, his steam tractors and other inventions, and by placing his vast engineering plant at the Government's disposal, he has done very much more actually to help America's part in the war than the "patriotic" politician. Ford is also the model employer of U.S.A., and pays what are regarded as wonderful wages. This he is able to do by his exceedingly efficient organisation. Nevertheless, he has been defeated by the super-"patriots," though backed by President Wilson's approval. P. W. W. attributes Ford's defeat to the fact that his son was exempted from the Army. The fact is probably that Ford is not a favourite with the Party bosses. But the Democratic Party, Wilson's Party, has had a general set-back and has been placed in a minority in both Houses of Congress. The Republicans with Roosevelt and the more extreme jingoes are in the ascendant.

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